Cayenga-
Chipaya.

/179 cont./

283 Rope-making. Ropes (hoč, šoma) are made of llama wool or straw, the former twisted or braided. To make them, the Čipaya take a bundle of raw wool in the right hand and twist it by hand and gradually roll around a ring held in the left hand. The ropes and cords of wool (šoiya, tuanda) serve as belts for the men or are used to fasten loads on the backs of llamas.

Straw ropes are used practically exclusively in the construction of houses, where they tie the different pieces of the framework of the roof and fasten down the straw which covers it.

284 These ropes are made by the women: they hammer each handful of straw on the back of their overturned grindstones with a round rock provided with depressions which facilitate handling it. The stalks once softened are moistened. The woman twists some of them to make a strand (p'it-čoka). She does the same with another pinch, then applies a rotating motion between her palms to these two strands. So that the straw will not dry out during the process, she holds it sheltered under a blanket and herself dampens her hands frequently.

285 Basket-making. Basket-making is a local industry in Chipaya. /180/ Their circular baskets (pan pata) with a small perpendicular rim are all of one type although of different sizes (Fig. 3. A /see p. 155/). They are composed of small coils of straw turned upon themselves in a spiral and held together by leather ties (Fig. 3. A. B). This technique is the one that ethnographers in the English language call "coiled."

287 The small openwork baskets (čiki čepa) are, it appears, fish 491 traps which the Čipaya buy from the people of Orinoca or Andamarca (villages situated near the banks of the Poopó).

/189 cont./

after mass on Palm Sunday."
It is not impossible that the
palm /palmier/ weed of the
Cipaya corresponds to these "palms"
of the Quichua. Cf. Chéliès
(Dr. Pastor). "Les Vacayeux."
Revista Universitaria. Cuzco.
eighth year. No. 29. September,
1910. p. 43.

[189]

[191]

[192] portions of the house are worshiped with libations and fumigations. They are also indispensable accessories for the magicians who always plant them before themselves when they are going to make a prayer or a sacrifice to the demons. One must also not forget among the objects used in worship the baked clay censers which are shaped like a footed cup, and the small cupules for libations.

[193]

Division of Labor

	Men	Women	
House-building	+	-	
Straw rope	-	-	
Spinning	+	+	
Weaving	-	+	
Weaving with treadle loom	+	-	
Cooking	-	+	
Livestock care	+	-	(preferably the children)
Cheese	-	+	
Milking of the sheep	-	+	
Shearing of the sheep	+	-	
Rope-making	+	-	

Bandelier—183 0-0 (1880-1881) 1935.1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya
Aymara SF5

/193 cont./

	Men	Women
Transport	0	0
Irrigation	0	-
Cultivation	0	-
Instrumental music	0	-
Basket-making	0	-
Crochet	0	-
Trade	0	4
Fishing	0	-
Bird hunting	0	-

Comparative Study

The comparative study which I am going to make of Uro-Chipaya objects and industries and those of ancient and modern Andean populations could not be exhaustive. I lack too many books to indicate the complete bibliography of the subjects with which I propose to deal, and I fear /196/ that for lack of material many parallels between certain forms of the material life of the Chipaya today and of the old Andean tribes may have escaped me.

Village and huts. I have already indicated the strange similarities which the ordering of the village of these Indians presents to that of an Inca city, Cuzco for example. The taxata and tuanta ayllu have an exact equivalent in the Inca suyu, particularly in the two sectors or districts of Cuzco, hanan-suyu and hurin-suyu; as for the alignment of chapels or oratories, they are nothing more than Christianized ceques.

At the time of the Conquest and for a century afterward the Aymara lived in huts similar in every respect to those of the Chipaya with the exception of the chiefs who, like the present-day corregidor of the "canton" of Chipaya, lived in quadrangular houses. It is under Spanish influence that the Aymara hut evolved into its present aspect, which differs little from Creole houses. But even in our day

S:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

metal casting. Some of the pins (tupus) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from chullpa graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade.

Pottery.—Although not now made at Anroaqui, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a bent-out lip and two loop handles.

Stonework.—Metates, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone.

Woodworking.—Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, balsa poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening balsa lashings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas.

Musical instruments.—All *Uru* musical instruments are duplicates of those of the *Aymara:* the open-ended flutes (palawata, kena, pusipia, and kenakena), flageolets (kena mari-macho, koiko, pinkillu, and tarka), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (siku, siku-chokllo), and the drum. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukulele or charanga.

ECONOMICS

The only *Uru* articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian cholo huts. They exchange these for frozen and dried potatoes (chuñu), coca, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes.

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian *Uru* social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve it functioning. The *Uru* are grouped into ayllus, named Titicana, Konko, Kama, and Kuipa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achai (corresponding to *Inca* anansaya), and xanacha (*Inca* mana-saya). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

difficult to come by in this treeless region. Some poles are obtained from sheltered valleys near the Lake, the rest of the wood from the Yungas of La Paz.

Hunting weapons are limited to fish spears (*pini*) and *balsa* (Hassel), though nets and weirs are also used in hunting and fishing. The bow and arrow is unknown to the modern Uru, though there is archaeological evidence that it is not unknown to the Bolivian *altiplano*.

Musical instruments of the Uru are merely an incomplete list of those in use among the neighboring Aymára. They are the *siku* (a kind of double panpipe, with four rows of graduated reeds fastened together into two groups of two rows each), the *peki* (Aymará *purifia*, lit. "four holes"), the *qena* (another Aymára flute, with six stops, five in a row and one on the side), and the drum (Uru *p'ou*). The reeds of which these are made are not *totora*, but come from a noded bamboo-like plant in the yungas. The *siku* is played with the two parts held together vertically, like an ordinary panpipe, the *purifia* or *peki* and the *qena* with the instrument held in front of the chest, at a downward angle, like a clarinet. All the categories of musical instruments have their appropriate use in ceremonies with a definite position on the calendar. They are played in groups of one kind only, never mixed orchestrally save with the drum.

Economically, the only articles of importance of Uru production are fish, *balsas*, and large *totora*-mats (or *lerana*, for carpets in "choio" huts). These are exchanged for *kaka*, *coca*, net-thread, *kañawa* (quinoa), and the few other indispensables of Uru life.

The sexual division of labor is the following: men—fishing, hunting, net-making and -repairing, the cutting of *totora* and all the processes in the manufacture of *balsas*, mat-making (*lerana* and *lowara*), the playing of musical instruments, and the making of their own tools; women—spinning and weaving llama-wool, cooking, and formerly pottery-making and basket-making. Only women use the simple loom, and only men the foot-loom. The chief leisure-time activity of the men is grass rope twisting or braiding (Posnansky, quite unaccountably, and I am sure mistakenly, says the women gather the grass and make the cords for the *balsas*), while that of the women is spinning llama wool. Women are the traders of everything save *balsas*. Their meager agriculture and herding are common to both sexes; children commonly care for the animals.

Social Organization. The best information we have on the social organization of the Uru is that of Métraux:

> The information which I have gathered on their social organization is unfortunately very inexplicit. They are divided into clans, the list of which was dictated to me: Tacy ate, T.T.cana, Konka, Kama, Kuipa.